

Above left: Hijo Cabeza Blanca, a Weeminuche sub-chief whose father (Cabeza Blanca) was killed by other Weeminuche leaders for supporting a Ute-Navajo alliance put together by Black Hawk. Hijo Cabeza Blanca and large numbers of Four Corners area Utes, Navajos, Hopis, and Jicarilla Apaches were recruited by Black Hawk to help make raids on Mormon livestock in central and southern Utah. Courtesy of UUWA.

Above right: Manuelito, Arizona's most influential Navajo raider, was drawn into Black Hawk's confederation. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.

Right: Manuelito Segundo, son of Manuelito, was representative of scores of young Navajo raiders who joined forces with Black Hawk to make war on the Mormons. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.



Left: Daniel H. Wells, LDS First Presidency member, mayor of Salt Lake City, and lieutenant-general of the Nauvoo Legion.
Courtesy of CHD.



Below left: "Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith," founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was killed in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, while awaiting a hearing on charges of "treason" for deploying the Nauvoo Legion against state troops called out by the governor of Illinois.
Courtesy of CHD.

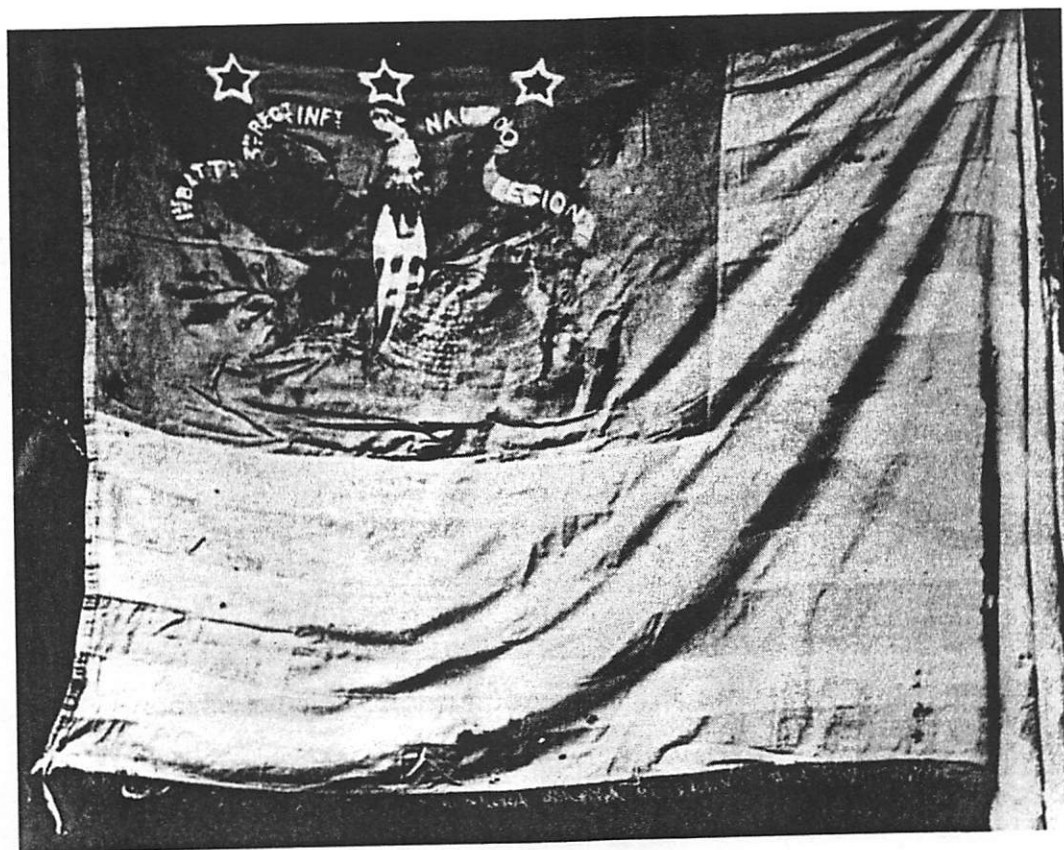
Below right: "Lieut.-General Brigham Young," commander in chief of the Nauvoo Legion from 1844 until his death in 1877. *Contributor 9* (December 1887): 40.



Right: Franklin H. Head, who replaced Orsemus H. Irish as Utah's Superintendent of Indian affairs early in 1866. George Brooks Shepard, ed., *Untrodden Fields in History and Literature and Other Essays by Franklin Harvey Head* (Cleveland, OH: The Rowfant Club, 1923), Vol 1: frontispiece.

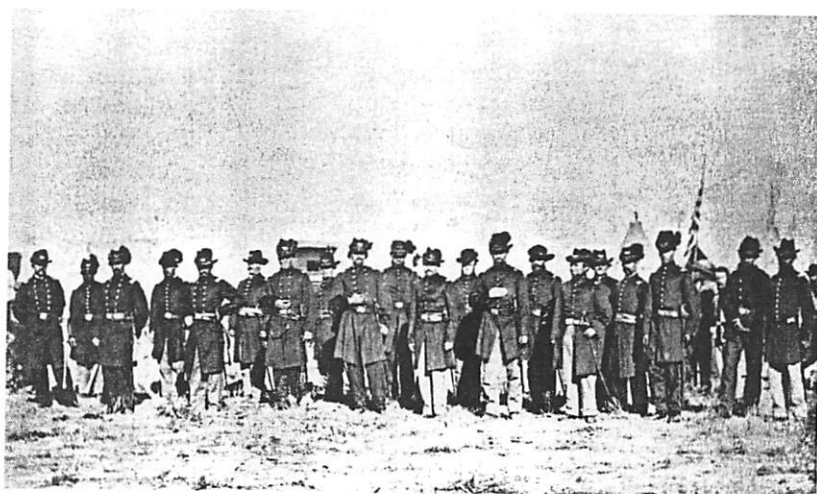


Below: Regimental flag of the First Battalion, Third Regiment, Nauvoo Legion Infantry. Courtesy of CHD.

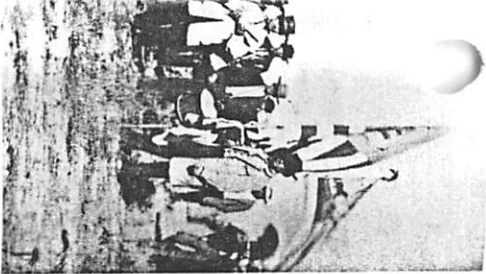




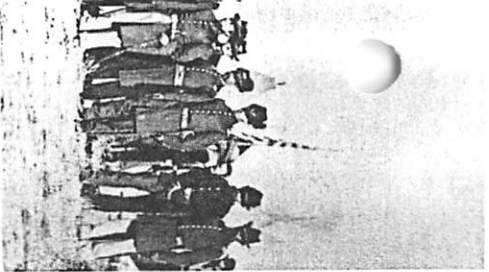
"Third Regiment Martial Band." Nauvoo Legion annual regimental muster, 1865. Dimick Huntington is the man in front left wearing a plumed black hat and holding a sword in his right hand. Note Nauvoo Legion regimental colors. Courtesy of CHD.



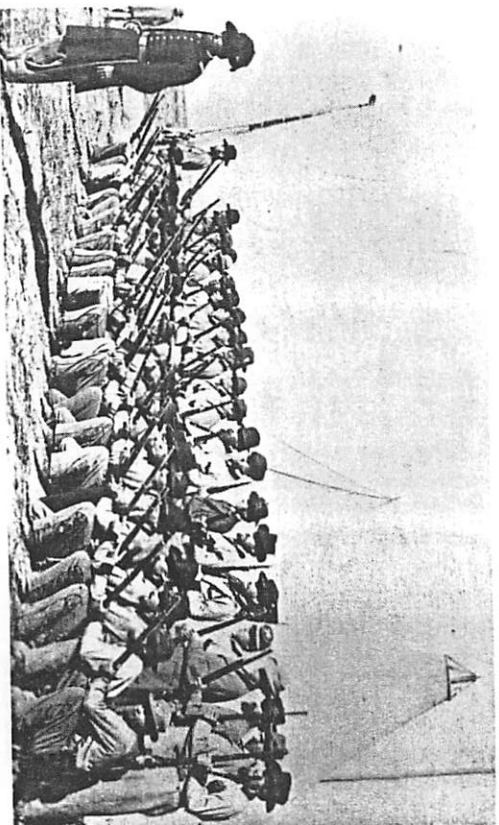
"Officers of the 3rd Regiment of the Nauvoo Legion." Regimental muster, 1865. Courtesy of CHD.



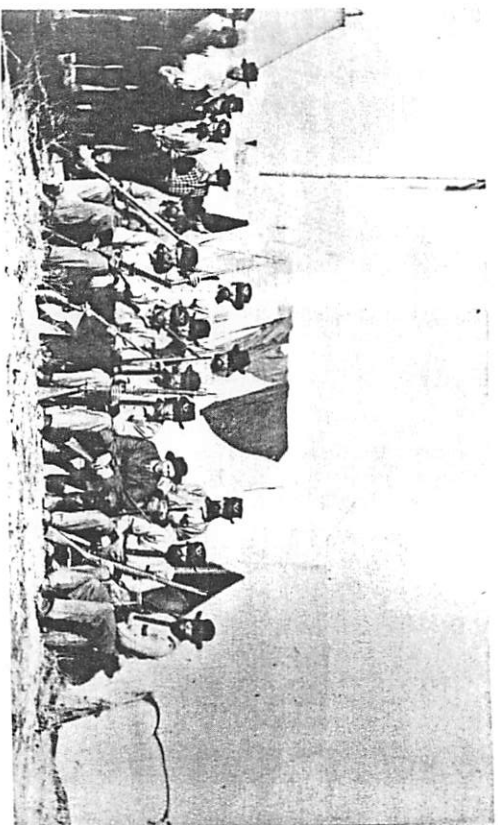
Regimental muster, showing a plumed black hat and a regimental colors.



Regimental muster, 1865.



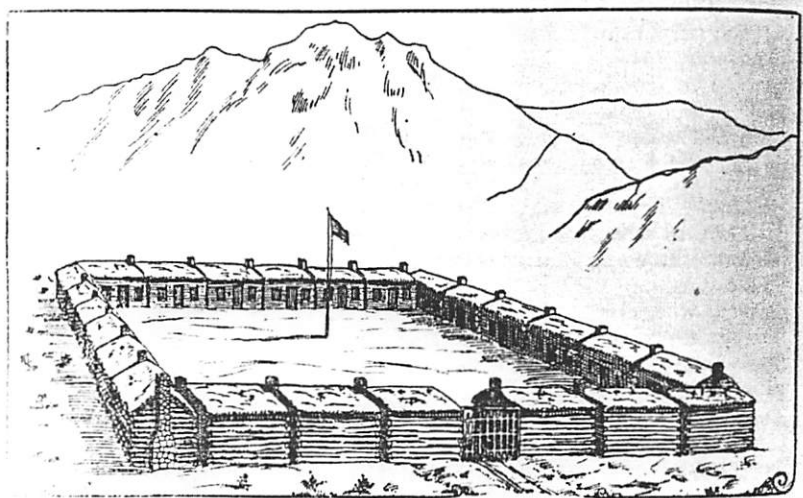
Nauvoo Legion militiamen at regimental muster, 1865. Courtesy of CHD.



Nauvoo Legion militiamen in camp, at Regimental Muster, 1866. Courtesy of CHD.



This invitation to an 1866 Nauvoo Legion ball highlights some peculiarities of Mormon society. George A. Smith held the rank of general because he was a senior apostle in the Mormon hierarchy. As the highest-ranking LDS ecclesiastical/military leaders were generally also polygamists, the embossed invitations requested Smith and other Nauvoo Legion officers to bring their "Ladies." Courtesy of CHD.

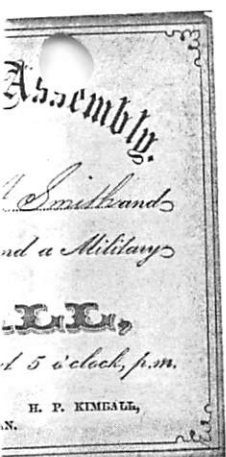


THE OLD FORT. Built in the Autumn of 1850.
(Sketched from memory)

An example of an early Mormon fort. Caption, "The Old Fort. Built in the Autumn of 1850. (Sketched from Memory)." Emma N. Huff et al., *Memories that Live: Utah County Centennial History*, 304.

Utah's Black Hawk War

Utah's Black Hawk War



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Autumn of 1850.

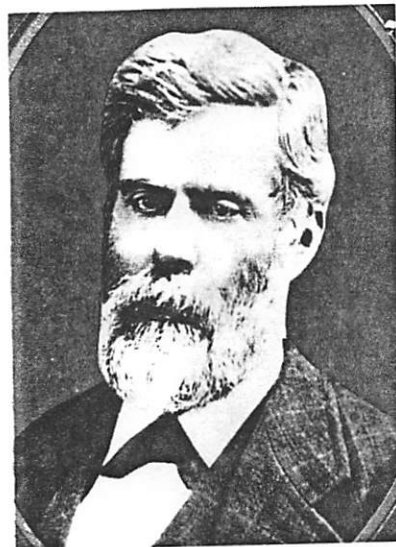
The Old Fort. Built in the
na N. Huff et al., *Memories that*



Above left: "Group of Black Hawk Soldiers ... taken on the day they returned from the Black Hawk Campaign, July, 1866." The Nauvoo Legion detachments most often sent out against Black Hawk and his raiders were generally made up of impoverished young recruits who were poorly uniformed and equipped. *Improvement Era* 11 (September 1908): 846.



Above right: "Wm. B. Dougall, Jasper Conrad, and S. F. Kimball, just returned from Black Hawk War, July, 1866." *Improvement Era* 11 (July 1908): 680.



Right: William B. Pace, Commander of the Utah County Military District, who eventually replaced Warren S. Snow as commander of the Sanpete Military District. Courtesy of CHD.



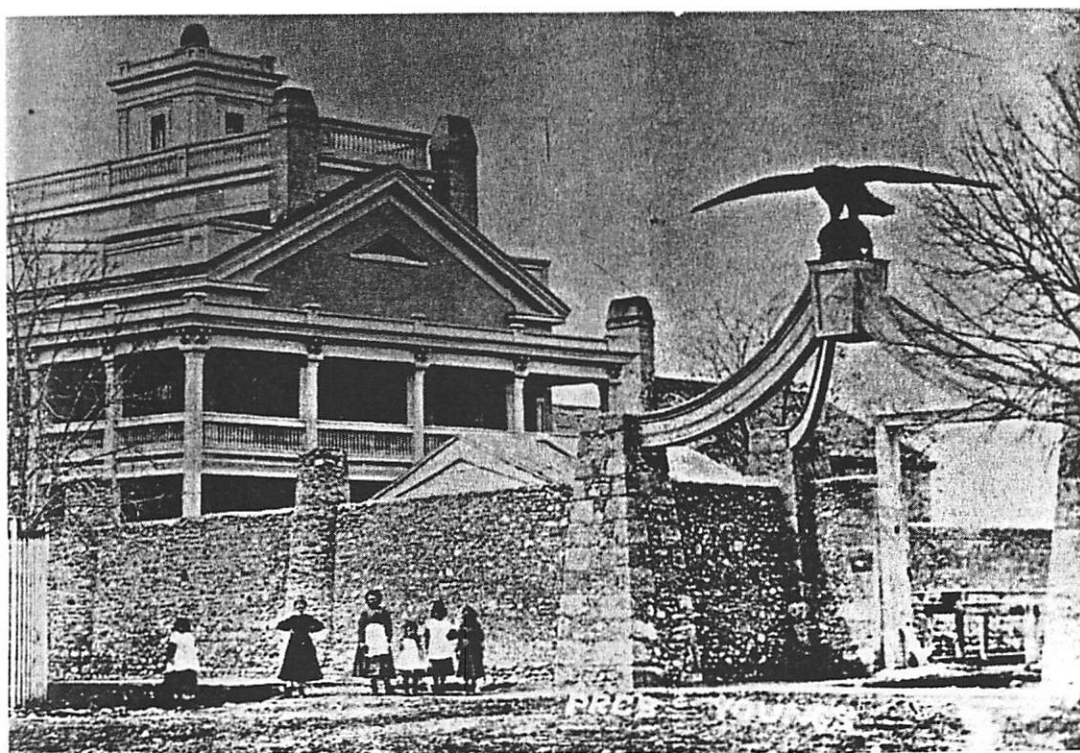
Tamaritz, also known as She-navegan, Chenowicket, and "the White Horse Chief." Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations of Utah*, first edition.



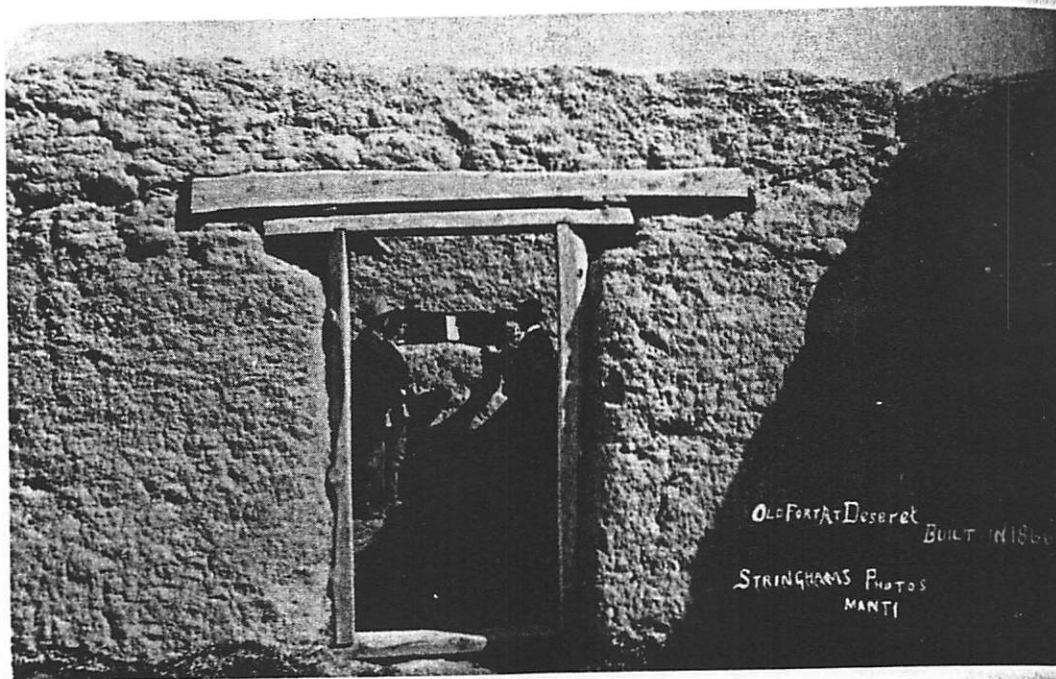
"Tabiyuna or One who wins the race." Sometimes confused with Tabby, Tabiyuna, whose name is also interpreted as "Bright Sunshine," was one of Black Hawk's chief raiders. Like his leader, he displayed a special antipathy towards Warren Snow and James A. Ivie.
Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.



"Fort Union." Courtesy of USHS.



"Spanish Wall" around Brigham Young's mansions in Salt Lake City. Such walls were constructed around many Mormon settlements during the Black Hawk War. Courtesy of CHD.



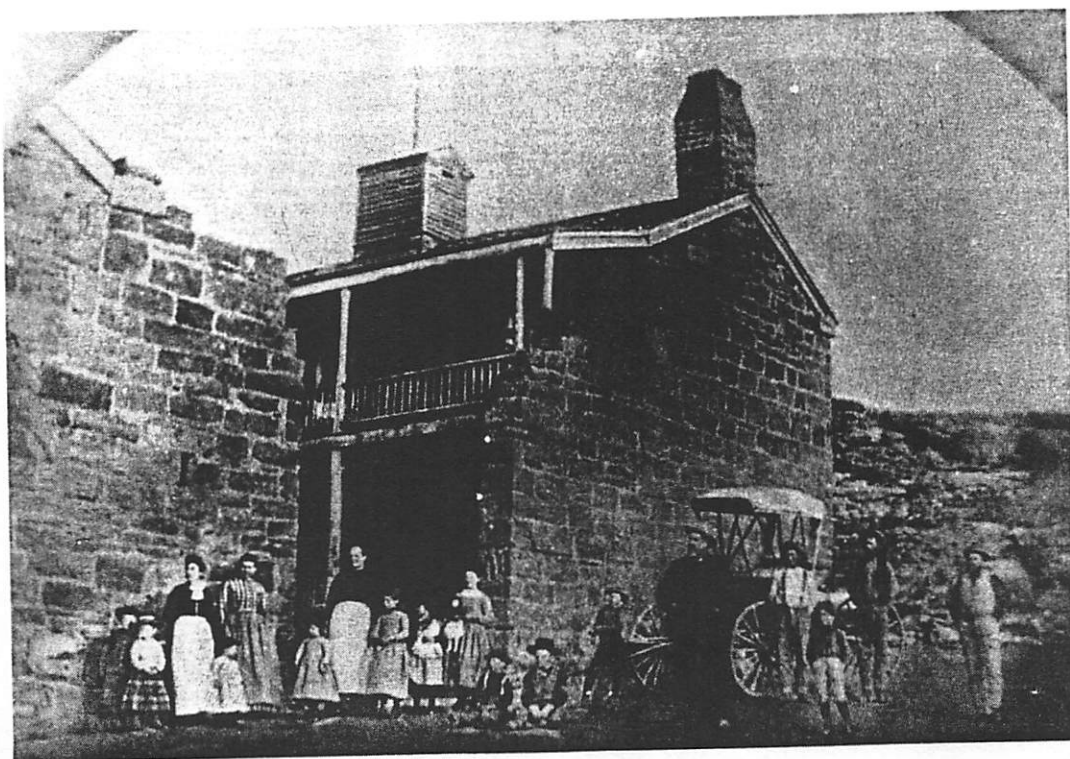
"Old Fort at Deseret Built in 1866." Courtesy of USHS.



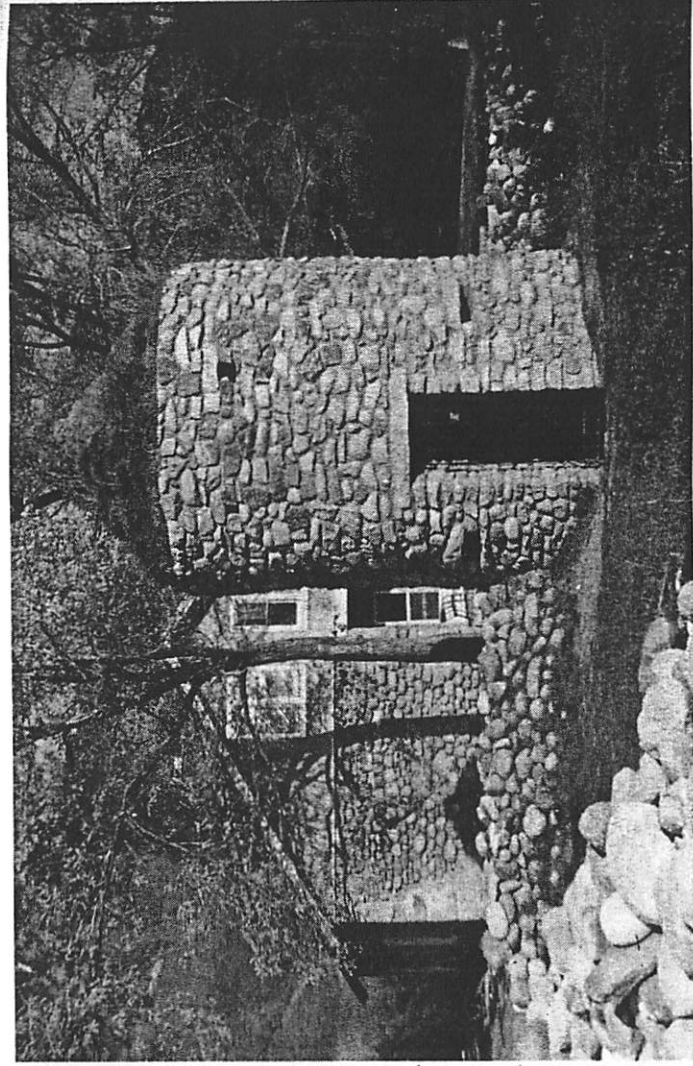
Cove Fort, built in central Utah during the Black Hawk War, is now an LDS visitor's center. Courtesy of USHS.



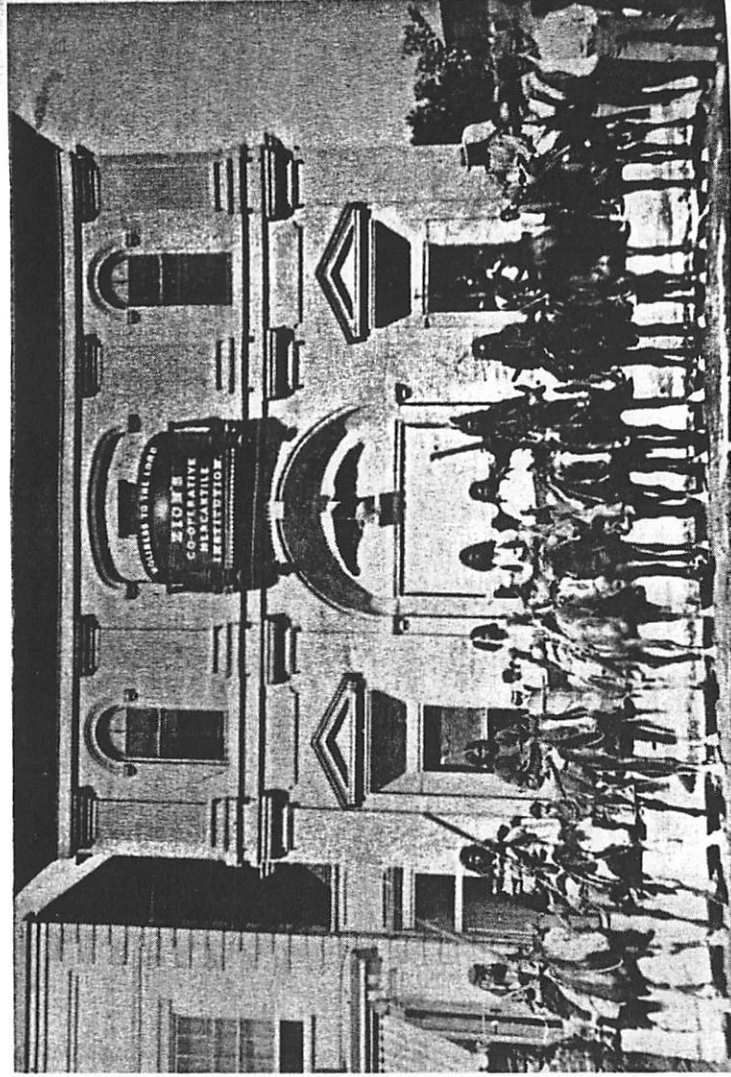
Fort Pearce near St. George, Utah, was built to guard an important Indian trail. Photograph by the author.



"Windsor Castle," originally constructed to protect Mormon herds during the Black Hawk War, is now preserved as Pipe Springs National Monument in northern Arizona. Courtesy of UUWA.



"The Moyle Indian Tower" was built by the John R. Moyle family in Alpine, Utah, and is the last known survivor of numerous private family fortifications which were built outside village forts or in exposed ranch locations during the Black Hawk War. Reportedly there was a tunnel running from the house in the background to the turret, which then was protected by a secure wooden door. Photograph by the author.



Utes posing for a photographer in Salt Lake City while en route to Ghost Dance ceremonies in Shoshoni country in 1870. Courtesy of CHD.

thus tacitly indicating they may have had at least some involvement with Black Hawk.²⁵

Black Hawk's alliance apparently planned to again raid Tierra Amarilla and other New Mexico settlements until the federal troops Kit Carson called for pushed them back north towards "the Mormon settlements."²⁶ It appears that some of them (as was discussed in chapter six) joined their Mexican allies in avenging the Moqui attack on Manuelito's contingent of Black Hawk's raiders earlier that year by attacking the Hopi village of Oraibe. This positioned them to make incursions into southern Utah's Dixie by way of the Colorado River crossing at Lee's Ferry, not far from the Hopi pueblos. Whether the Navajos and other Indians who made raids in southern Utah during the winter of 1866-67 were associated with Black Hawk may never be known. Settlers throughout Utah, however, saw the raids as part of the Black Hawk War, and reports of the incursions unnerved Mormons hundreds of miles from Navajo lands.

Other rumors unnerved central Utah Latter-day Saints even more. As the spring of 1867 approached, predictions were rampant that "when the snow is gone the Indians are *all* going to get mad, east, west and south." While it was well known that Tabby had made peace, the word was out that many of his braves were still after Warren Snow and other Sanpete Saints. Orson Hyde predicted that Tabby would stay on the reservation "under the profession of friendship but secretly instigate his young men to go forth and plunder and shed blood." Characteristically, Hyde's solution was to send "a moderate force of United States troops" to the reservation to "make them pay the penalty of their evil intentions."²⁷

The Glenwood Massacre

Tabby's "young men" were not the only Utes seeking the life of Warren Snow, and it appears the ailing Nauvoo Legion general nearly fell into Black Hawk's hands in the first raid of the 1867 season. Sometime near the middle of March, Snow and an adult son brought several wagonloads of merchandise to Glenwood to trade for stock and produce. They planned the trip early in the year when they were confident snow-filled mountain passes would keep Indians from interfering.

²⁵ For examples see *ibid.*; and A.C. Hunt, Gov. and Ex Officio Supt. of Ind. Affrs. to N.G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 20 June 1867, and 4 August 1867, BIA, M234, 199.

²⁶ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 10 November 1866.

²⁷ Orson Hyde to the Editor of the *Deseret News*, in *DN*, 7 March 1867. Italics mine.

While in Glenwood, however, Snow's health failed and he was confined to bed with a life-threatening lung ailment.²⁸ On the night of 20 March a large body of raiders "under command of the Indian Rover, Blackhawk" gathered some eighty head of stock ranging near the settlement and quietly drove them into the mountains.²⁹ Then, in a rare move suggesting they knew Warren Snow was in Glenwood, the raiders returned to assault the tiny village.

Throughout the Black Hawk War, with this single exception, the Indians attacked a settlement only if it somehow strategically aided them in stealing stock. In this instance, their booty already safely driven away, whites were convinced "that the driving off of the Stock . . . was not the extent of their purpose." Their plan, rather, was to destroy "the whole of the inhabitants of Glenwood," including their archenemy, Warren Snow.³⁰

During the night of the twentieth, in an interesting turn of events, thirty-five Indians took up positions in a new fort the settlers were building about a mile from town. The settlers had been advised to move the location of their town because it was within shooting range of mountains to the east. It appears the raiders planned to ambush Glenwood's men as they arrived for their day's labor at the new fort. A series of crude camouflaged rock bulwarks were strategically built by the Indians at various locations between the old settlement and the new fort where native sharpshooters waited to fire at any workers who should escape the band at the fort and attempt to run back towards town. With the village's men thus out of the way, Warren Snow could easily be captured or killed.

Fortunately for Snow and the people of Glenwood, two youngsters out hunting cattle before dawn discovered the Indians and sounded the alarm. Their plans foiled, the raiders were easily chased into nearby hills, where the two groups exchanged shots for about two hours. Allegedly led by a chief mounted on another white horse, the raiders tauntingly challenged individual Mormons by name in broken English. At last the Indians withdrew and joined their companions and the stolen herd in the mountains.

²⁸ Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, 9 April 1867, BYC; George Peacock to Brigham Young, 28 March 1867, BYC; Peacock, Journal, 21 March 1867; and "J.P. Petersen, Wife and Mary Smith Killed Near Glenwood."

²⁹ A.J. Moffitt to Brigham Young, 26 March 1867, BYC; and Hamilton H. Kearnes to George A. Smith, 30 March 1867, GAS.

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At some point that morning Black Hawk's party came across a Danish couple accompanied by a sixteen-year-old American girl traveling by ox team from Richfield to Glenwood to trade with Warren Snow. Jens Peter Petersen's face was beaten terribly with his own wooden shoes before he was killed. His wife, Caroline, "was scalped and cut up in a most brutal maner[,] a portion of the lower part of her body was cut out and laid upon her face." The teenaged Mary Smith was found "scalped and badly cut up with a stick run up about 10 inches into her privates." In what was perhaps the most brutal attack of the entire war, the threesome probably reaped the wrath the Indians had hoped to unleash on Warren Snow.³¹

More Evacuations

News of this massacre shocked Utah. Brigham Young, who had hoped to be able to allow settlers in Sevier Valley villages to remain in their homes, immediately telegraphed Orson Hyde that the Sevier settlements must be evacuated again posthaste. In a follow-up letter he ordered the Sanpete settlers to help the refugees move and announced that Warren Snow was temporarily relieved "owing to his ill health" and that William B. Pace would take his place as commander of the Sanpete Military District. That Snow was deathly ill is well documented, but Young may have finally gotten the message that Ute feelings against the Mormon general, not to mention those of rank and file militiamen (who still complained Snow was much too cautious), were so strong that Snow's continued leadership was counterproductive.³² Though his health eventually improved, Warren Snow did not resume his command.

During the next three weeks hundreds of wagons from such Sanpete settlements as Manti, Ephraim, Mt. Pleasant, and Moroni rolled out to aid in the total evacuation of Sevier County. Nauvoo Legion detachments guarded the settlers of Glenwood, Monroe, Richfield, and other places as they loaded what they could into wagons and headed north driving cattle, sheep, swine, and chickens. Despite the fact that some 130 vehicles showed up to evacuate Richfield, grain, potatoes, lumber,

³¹ Ibid.; A.J. Moffitt to President Brigham Young, 26 March 1867; George Peacock to Brigham Young, 28 March 1867, BYC; Peacock, Journal, 21 March 1867; "J.P. Petersen, Wife and Mary Smith Killed Near Glenwood"; JH, 22 March 1867, 1; Williams, "Life Sketch," 106-7; and Sorenson and Bybee, *Founded on Faith*, 25.

³² Peacock, Journal, 1 and 28 April 1867; and Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells to Orson Hyde, 2 April 1867, BYC.